

tion of the walls of Romulus, and the position of his gates have employed the pens of learned antiquaries, and it has always been considered a *caus belli* to decide whether Romulus made three gates or four.

To settle this difficult point Varro and Festus have left on record no less than eight names of gates, the very enumeration of which would cause serious alarm to this meeting, lest I should enter upon the etymology of them all. I shall, however, content myself with referring you to a plan of the city of Rome as it was left by Romulus, that is to say, when to the Palatine the Capitoline Hill (taken from Tatiun) was added, the space (afterwards the Roman Forum) being included within the walls. I need hardly add that of those walls every vestige had disappeared before we come to any authentic records of the city; and it is only for the sake of beginning and following out the successive enlargements of Rome that I have mentioned either Romulus or his fortifications. The other bills of Rome are said to have been added by the successive kings; and when they had got to the number of seven they were surrounded by a continuous wall. The eastern side of the city being exposed to the Sabine territory, without the advantageous defence of a hill, was fortified by a high mound strengthened by strong walls; and thus was the circuit, begun by Servius Tullius and ended by his successor, complete. This was Rome in her fullest extent during all the ages of the Republic; and although Pliny informs us that the suburbs of Rome extended for many miles in every direction, as so many additional towns, yet the city properly so called maintained its contracted circuit until the walls of Aurelian in the third century revealed the fatal secret that the mistress of nations required a defence of bricks and cement.

Of the old walls of Servius Tullius some vestiges are traced in the vineyard beneath the Villa Barberini; they exhibit a regular good specimen of the Etruscan stone wall, regular square or oblong blocks of peperine, resembling much in construction, though not in material, the walls of a neighbouring Etruscan city, which I consider one of the most interesting monuments of antiquity; I allude to the ancient Falerii, not far from Civita Castellana. A rough plan of the circuit of those walls almost intact I have found among my fugitive pieces. It is possible that some remains of walls upon the Capitoline Hill may also be an ancient as the kings of Rome. Upon a part of the Tarpeian Rock we yet see a mass of wall standing, built of the same materials and masonry as those vestiges of the walls of Servius Tullius to which I have alluded; but, as these might be construed into treasonable words if any learned Roman antiquary were to bear them, I will hasten to quit that peperine subject and bring you, through eight centuries, to plain bricks and cement.

In the time of Vespasian and Titus, Pliny measured the circuit of the old walls, which in many places were so blended with the budding of the city as to render it difficult to trace them. If Pliny's text has come down to us unscathed, he found the measurement to be about thirteen miles, and we hear no more of the walls of Rome until the time of the Emperor Aurelian. Before he began his expedition against the Queen of Palmyra, in the year 271, he thought it advisable to consult the senate, and take measures for preventing a repetition of the insults which the Goths, under the effeminate Gallienus, had offered to the majesty of Rome. Several authors of that time have dropped a few words respecting the new fortifications, but none, except Vopiscus, have told us to what extent the work was carried; and he has given us a measurement so incredible that all critics have given it up in despair.

The circuit of Aurelian's walls, says that respectable writer, was nearly fifty miles. No traces of a wall, corresponding to such a circumference, have ever been found; and, if we must believe the text of Vopiscus, there is no way of explaining it but by measuring from one *Castra* or *Septis* to another, which were built, or planned to be built, at different points about the city. We leave, therefore, Aurelian, and his fifty miles of walls, to rival the new fortifications of our Gallican neighbours, which are probably destined to puzzle posterity as much as those of Aurelian now puzzle us.

Down to the reign of Arcadius and Honorius there is not another word to be found which relates to the walls of the city. The only historian of that period is the poet Claudian, who was born to chaunt the praises of Stilicho, and awake the muse once more ere Rome became a desert. Claudian tells us, in well-measured hexameter verse, that the new walls of Honorius gave a handsome face (*pulchrum vultum*) to the city; that more hills were added to the famous seven, and that flanking towers and lofty walls were got up with wonderful rapidity, in consequence of a threatened irruption of the Getæ, a people from the north. Three inscriptions, of which two still exist and are legible, are a key to the poetry: they tell us, that at the suggestion of Stilicho, the great captain of the age, the prefect of the city, Longinianus, took upon him the care of rebuilding the walls, gates, and towers; and as this Longinianus held office in the sixth consulate of the Emperor Honorius, we get at the date of the present circuit of the walls of Rome on this side the Tiber, viz., about the year 403. The whole was got up in haste, and this may account for our finding, in the line of the walls, various edifices which apparently stood in the way, but which, to save time and materials, it was very convenient to enlist in the service. The present walls and gates, therefore, must be considered as preserving the limits drawn under the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius, subject, of course, to the repairs and alterations made by Belisarius and the Goths, and variegated, through at least ten centuries, with the patchwork of helligrent popes and engineering cardinals. But before I proceed to point out some specimens of construction varying in antiquity from the Augustan to the present age, let me finish my historical sketch of the circuit of Rome.

The dilapidations caused by the Goths and Vandals during the fifth century were made up by Theodoric in the year 500, and in 535 Belisarius entered Rome by the Porta Asinaria, while the Goths fled by the Porta Flaminia; at that time the gates were fourteen in number, and all made to open as portcullises. The general of Justinian fixed his head quarters on the Monte Pincio, to be near that side of the city which was the least defended. The ravages of Totila were more considerable, and when Belisarius returned a second time to rescue Rome from the hands of the barbarians, it cost him twenty-five days to fill up the breaches in the walls, and his humble work still remains to be seen near the Lateran Church. The reign of the Lombards in Italy, from 566 to 774, placed the municipal arrangements of the city in the hands of the bishops. Sisinnius was the first of them who attempted to repair the walls; but little was done until towards the close of the eighth century. It was when the circuit of Rome was in this state (that is, in the first half of the ninth century), that a curious description of the walls was made by a Swiss or German pilgrim, who appears to have been (for his day) a diligent observer and excellent scribe. He counted all the towers, propugnacula, posterns, and necernaria in the whole circuit of the walls as they then stood: the towers were 383, the battlements 7,020, the posterns 6, and the temples of Venus Clacius 106. But this medieval writer (generally known under the title of the anonymous of the ninth century) gives no description of either form or materials: we are therefore left to find our way through near three centuries before we slight upon another date wherein to fix a specimen: an inscription of 1157, contemporary with Frederic Barbarossa, directs us to a now walled-up gate beneath the Cælian Hill. But the thorough reparation of the whole circuit, exclusive of the Vatican, was reserved for Pope Nicolas V.; and it is one of those historical coincidences which sometimes strike us in the vicissitudes of empire, that while the Turks were taking Constantinople and putting an end to the name and power of Imperial Rome, Nicolas V. was restoring the walls of the ancient mistress of the world, now transformed into a Papal city. The works of the popes who succeeded Nicolas V. were mainly on the Vatican side, and these I shall point out when we pass the Tiber. The works on the Monte Pincio, begun by Leo XII., are the most important of modern improvements connected with the walls of Rome.

After this brief account of the changes

through which those walls have passed, I propose to offer some description. It will not be easy to captivate either the eye or ear by a mere description of bricks and mortar; and in order to have rendered the subject at all interesting, I ought to have pressed into the service of this conversation as many pencils as there are towers enumerated by the anonymous of the ninth century. The interest of the subject for this institute, at least, lies chiefly in exhibiting brick and stone work of every age, from Servius Tullius the king, to Gregory the pope. I must content myself with offering you but a few specimens, as they occur in the circuit which we will now make together, beginning at the Porta del Popolo. By this arrangement we shall gain in convenience what we lose in chronological order: by taking the specimens as they come in the circuit we shall have to pass from popes to emperors and back again without breathing, but it will be easy when we have made our round to adjust the whole in the order of time.

Between the Tiber and the Porta del Popolo occurs the first specimen of the work of Nicolas V., made in the year 1452: the construction is of thin bricks, mixed with irregular pieces of tufa; and this is all the description I intend to offer of the reparations made by that pontiff, which chiefly exist on the north and east side of the city: the Porta del Popolo itself, substituted to the ancient Flaminia, exhibits in its external elevation the genius of the celebrated Vignola in 1561; but the two square towers which flank the entrance were erected nearly 100 years earlier: the ancient gate stood in the time of Justinian further up the declivity of the Pincian Hill; and the Flaminian Way, by which Rome was approached from the north, passed more immediately under the broken rock on which now the Villa Pontanowa stands; but, leaving the gate by which our modern pilgrims now enter Rome, now defended by the Dogana Pontificia, we come upon a piece of wall built of small blocks of red tufa, probably the work of Ladislav, king of Naples, in 1408. I mention it, because it is a peculiar style of construction called the "Saracenic;" it is so called from the circumstance of its being first adopted at the period when the Saracens polluted the Lavinian shores, and turned the basilica of St. Peter into a stable, in the early part of the ninth century. Why the builders of walls should have adopted blocks of red tufa on such an occasion, we cannot tell, unless that was the only method they could devise of representing a Saracen's head; in which case the surpassing device of London city is manifest in that splendid portrait, which will be familiar to all who are yet reduced to travel by stage-coaches; but the "opus Saracenicum" holds a conspicuous place in the walls of the Papal city, and in the vocabulary of Roman antiquaries.

The next object which occurs in our circuit forms a peculiar feature in the walls. The north angle of the Monte Pincio is built up by a mass of "opus reticulatum," which needs no description, because of its well-known construction. Procopius describes this portion of the walls of Rome just as it is at this day, and no one doubts that it was originally built for the purpose of sustaining the Collis Hortorum where the gardens of the Domitian family were, and in which Nero was buried. Belisarius observing the same cleft and inclination which is now to be seen in this immense mass of tufa work, and which gives it the name of Muro Torto, was afraid it would be insufficient to sustain the assaults of the besiegers, and he proposed to pull it down, and rebuild that portion of the walls; but the Romans assured him that St. Peter had promised them to take that quarter under his special charge; and the opinion was worth several hundred men to the Roman general; for, during the whole siege, the Goths, even in their nightly attempts to scale the walls, never came near the Muro Torto. We must assign a date as early as the year 40 A.D. to those vast substructions of the Domitian gardens. The general features of the Roman walls are a plain curtain of brick, with square towers of like materials, projecting from the line at intervals of 100 feet; some of the towers, however, are round. We do not get the original work of Honorius fairly disentangled, until we get beyond the garden of the Villa Medici. One tower rising